

342 Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In
426 building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding,
463 plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman
techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house,
men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stone-
cutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the
[464] mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some
cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement
mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volun-
teers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone
who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman.
People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupa-
tions (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

342 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent
house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire,
or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house
for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an
early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with
beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile,
a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding cer-
emonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[184] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house
differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In
342 Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and
782 neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy
one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice
cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners
[262] of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three
saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the
[203] rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on
[415] a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that
order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short
prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo
(Yanbaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over
the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two
[825] remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against
the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next
corner, the ceremony is repeated.

[183] When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will
[262] be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in
Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of
salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any
will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner
side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at
this time.

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special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

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Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

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Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311]

The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

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Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats. There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

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Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

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Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

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The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

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Other Activities Associated with Fishing

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There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

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Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

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The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

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The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (tsugi) or barley cakes with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Matsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

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The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily observed. In Minatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Minatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and sanisen playing, and perhaps a play.

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The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Minatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

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The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice instead of for barley. In Matsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.²

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² According to a Matsuda informant, women should not sew on this day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering plants for fertilizer, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks.

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the sanisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolized the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolizing long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a coconut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log.

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.⁵

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended.

⁵ Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Maha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179.

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vary according to the problems and conditions in a village. The first meeting of the year is usually held around Jan. 2, when there is a party. The young men, even those of 17 drink sake at this time. Young women, who do not drink, contribute gifts of candy and soft drinks.

In Hanashiro, the young men cultivate a field of their own and sell the produce. They maintain a carp pond. (Before the war, there were two such ponds). They also work out for wages. Every morning rotating groups work for two hours either in the association's field or for wages. This is done before the daily work. Their earnings of 18 an hour, low by Okinawan standards, are accumulated for special projects, such as the annual athletic meet. Occasionally they help with road maintenance, though this is a job for all the people of the village. The carp in the pond are sold to the villagers, normally in July, for medicinal purposes.

In Minatogawa, the young men's and the young women's association are combined. The head is a young man, the second in charge a young woman. They help in times of emergency and with repairing of typhoon damage. Since there are no fields or carp ponds, they are not so active as the young men of the agricultural villages. Sometimes they do night guard duty around the village, though this practice now has fallen into disuse.

In Matsuda, the association performs tasks similar to those in Hanashiro. Rotating groups, arising at 4 in the morning, do two or three hours work before starting their own. Absentees are fined ¥20 and tardy members ¥5. The young men grow sugar cane on land loaned free of charge by farmers. The purpose of the project is to increase sugar cane production by providing transplants. The Matsuda group also works in the forests, for which they receive ¥100 per day per person. With the permission of the village headman, they get firewood from the forests, sell it to provide funds for their projects. They stand by during typhoons. But they also have discontinued the custom of providing a 3 or 4 member patrol to walk around the village in the early morning hours. Since thievery is uncommon, the patrolling is no longer required. When the village gong sounds a fire alarm, all the young men assemble. At the harvest festivals, such as the autumnal equinoctial holiday, the young men may present a play, do Okinawan dances, and supply the motive power for the village lion.

The leader (danchō) of a young man's association usually is from the older age group. Meetings are held twice a month, normally on the 1st and 15th. The annual parties are either at the beginning or the end of the year. In all the villages, the young men's associations have a leading part in the annual athletic meetings. Most of their accumulated funds are expended at this time. They not only participate, but do much of the preparatory work in co-operation with the school teachers.

One result of membership in the young men's associations is that the age range (an 8 year span) of one's acquaintance is broadened.

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply entrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"² not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children.

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses.

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing.

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume.

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Syng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
 796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
 536 is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
 825 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon,
 during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village
 participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
 796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal
 764 stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
 825 village council and the elders assemble before the village burial
 palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the
 village office where the lion is standing.

778 Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various ex-
 796 planations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
 764 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
 825 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is
 a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step
 and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in
 the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In
 the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life
 savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses
 for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less
 well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the
 burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
 796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the
 764 second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
 825 Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off,
 the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be
 eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside
 shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people
 regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
 184 leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth
 796 of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin
 764 is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than
 825 another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser
 rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this
 village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the
 village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead,
 representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
 conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial
 holidays.

262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, whitefish, and globe fish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

262 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimuu) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.

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514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
 343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
 [564] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
 574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
 751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
 [354] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with [515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother [75] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are [753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly [753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been [296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

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Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of cleanliness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory. [351] Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be allowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in [5N] the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

Three sets of factors seem to contribute to the low standards of sanitation that exist in both rural and urban Okinawa. These factors lie in the realm of knowledge, of society, and of economics. Many Okinawans very clearly lack scientific knowledge of the causes of diseases and their relation to sanitation. But it would be incorrect to say that they are simply ignorant or that they need only education. They do not regard themselves as ignorant but feel rather that they already know the true causes of diseases and their proper treatment. What they need is not merely education but re-education. Before educators can teach scientifically accurate information they must first determine what the folk beliefs are and then replace them with scientific explanations. It is not sufficient merely to add some scientific information to folk beliefs. Many Okinawans, perhaps most, have heard of 'baikin', "bacteria", and their relationship to certain diseases. But probably few see them as sufficient causes of diseases or see them as organisms subject to biological laws of life, growth, and death. Bacteria have no doubt become for many Okinawans merely contributing factors, ranged alongside ghosts, unsupported ancestors, and bad blood, in the mixture of the natural and the supernatural that constitutes Okinawan medical knowledge.

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The belief that only blue-bottle flies hatch from the maggots in the toilet may not be universal on Okinawa but is certainly found among some people; one person who subscribed to the belief was a university student. This belief leads people to take pains to keep blue-bottle flies out of the house "because they contain bacteria", but to tolerate the smaller black house flies. If people believe that house flies merely give birth to more house flies, they can regard house flies as just a nuisance but not a danger. Posters encouraging people to get rid of flies because they carry disease may thus be interpreted as applying only to the blue-bottle fly. The house fly continues to infest many homes in incredibly great numbers.

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Several persons who discussed encephalitis revealed that though they had heard of mosquitoes having something to do with it, they believed that it was mainly caused by over-exposure to the rays of the sun. The university student mentioned above was one of these persons. It is worth noting also that an announcement issued 9 May 1954 warns people that the encephalitis season is approaching and therefore everyone should beware of mosquitoes and exposure to the sun.

Other beliefs regarding the cause of disease will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. Many of these beliefs rule out natural causes altogether and thus rule out sanitation as non-essential. Ignorance is therefore not a negative factor but a positive factor against better sanitation.

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I have no information at this writing as to whether exposure to the sun has the effect of making one more susceptible to Japanese Type B encephalitis. But even if this were the case, as it may possibly be, the point is that some, perhaps a majority, of the Okinawans believe that the sun is the sole cause of the disease, and therefore do not see encephalitis as another reason for mosquito control.